X 796 [346] [534] [417]

Tlacochcalco; and, before he arrived there, at a place which they called Tlapitzauayan, the women withdrew and left him. Arrived at the place where they were to kill him, he ascended the steps himself; on each of them he shattered one of the flutes which he had played as he walked, all during the year. When he had reached the summit [of the pyramid], they threw him upon the sacrificial stone; they tore out his heart; they brought down the body, carrying it in their hands; below, they cut the head off and ran through it [the crosspiece of the skull rack] which is called *tzompantli*. Many other ceremonies were enacted in this feast, which are set forth at length in their account, *fol.* 53.

llamauã tlapitzaóuiã, apartauãse las mugeres y dexauãle: llegádo al lugar, donde le auiã de matar: el mismo se subia por las gradas, en cada vna dellas, hazia pedaços vna flauta de las cõ que andaua tañendo todo el año: llegado arriba, echauãle sobre el tazõ sacauanle el corçaçõ, tornauã a decendir el cuerpo abaxo en palmas, abaxo le cortauã la cabeça y la espetauã en vn palmo que se llama Tzompãtli: Otras muchas cerimonjas, se hazиã en esta fiesta: las quales estan escriptas a la large en su historia. fo. 53.

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went flattering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[34] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

Auh yn iquac tlacetzmalo, yuic contlaça yuic conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli.

Auh in çoçolti in oquechcotzonaloque, tlapapatlaztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic mouiujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcauan quinpepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlatla, quintleoatza, quinmizraioujia, quinmiztaioquanhoatza:

cequj quintonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj quintonaltiaia yn itechiuhcauan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcauan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl quitquja yapãlecaz, amo ichoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlazipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecauja, contlecuitia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla.

Yoan quitquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn icinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli quioaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic quitotonjlia, ic quipopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey tzupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixquichtin in teteuoan inpan quinmatia.

Auh yn oconiauhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, mocaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliuitica:

yoan iztetzuh acatica quiquappachoa, tlilitica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj:

auh in motlacamati, canaoac ynic quiquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynic tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcaoã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, quiiacatitimanj ococalli in quimama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama.

quiiopeoaltilia yn cioa in netotilitzli, ynic mjtoia chocholoa, çan mocioxinotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jxnteuh conmemauja, quiiocitimanj,

34. Thus identified in Sahagún, op. cit., p. 105.

horizontal drum, from which was hung a small water gourd. Hence it was said, "A water gourd hangeth."

When they reached the place of the skull frame, then [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of Toci] tramped upon her drum.[11] And the seasoned warriors already awaited [Cinteotl]. Now he departed, in order to bear his mask, made of the skin flayed from the leg [of the woman who had represented Toci], off to the enemy's land. Then the chiefs went surrounding him—strong, swift men who ran fast.

And when they who there placed [the mask] had gone to attain the land of the foe, up on the mountain top, one of the side-peaks of Iztac tepetl, a place called Popotl temi, not without struggle did they put it in its place; for [the foe] set upon them; or else they pursued [the enemy]. On both sides [men] were slain.

And when they had gone about setting the mask fashioned from the skin of the thigh [of Toci's likeness] upon a wooden frame,[12] then all went hence. And the foe likewise departed.

And when this was done, when [the wearer of the skin of the impersonator of] Toci had accompanied [home] her son [Cinteotl], thereupon she went to her home, there at Atempan. Then there assembled the chieftains, all the fearless warriors, the leading warriors, the generals, the commanding generals,[13] and all the seasoned warriors, the chosen ones, the respected, the chiefs—who of their own free will were valiant, who set no value upon their heads and their breasts, who feared not death, who in truth hurled themselves upon our foes.

And after this, when they all had assembled in a body, then all were arranged in order, in well-ranked columns, before Moctezuma, who was seated upon his eagle mat. This was verily the skin [with feathers] of an eagle upon which he was seated, and he reclined upon a seat with an ocelot [skin] backrest. It was in truth ocelot hide with which the seat was covered.

quiçotzontivi in tepeaxmotli, itech tlaçalolli, atecontontli: ie inic motenteca, tecomapilea.

In oncito tzompanoltlan: njmã ic conjeça in jeveuh: auh in tequjoaque, ie quichiuhtoque: vncan oncoa in jmexxaiac inic quicaoaque iuuc: vncã oncoa colollujtivi in tlacaoan, in chicaoaque, in tlaçanj: cenca motlaloa.

Auh in oncito, in vmpa contlalianj in iuupan, in vmpa tepeticpac: inacaztlan in iztac tepetl: inocaiocan, popotl temj: aivian in contlalia, quinoalhoca: anoce quintoca, necoc mjcoa.

Auh in ocõtlalito quauhticpac, in jmexxaiac: mec viloatz, mec no vi in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in iehoatl Toci: in ocõcauato, iconeuh: njman ie ic iauh in jchan, in vmpa atempã, njmã ic cenqujxoa in tlacaxiã, in jaqujxhtin quaquachictin, in quaquauhiaca, in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: yoan in ie ixqujchtin tequjoaque, in tlatzonanti, in ovelitoque in tlacaoan, in jiolloco chicaoaque, in amo qujtlaçotla in intzontecon, in jmelchiqujuh, in amo mjqujzmauhq, in vel in ca momotla in teiauoan.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in ocenqujxtoc: njmã ic ixpan onnevipanalo, onnecenpãtililo, in jxpã Motecuçoma, iehoatica quauhpetlapan, vel iehoatl in quauhtli, tlaxipeoalli in jpan coatica, yoan ocelotepotzoicpalli in jpan motlaztica, vel ie in ocelotl ycenaio, inic tlaquimjolli icpalli:

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11. Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 106) translates *ie motenteca teomapil quiotz in cem que ce dicho*: "*quipan on tzontecil.*" The corresponding Spanish text implies use of the foot (*pear*).

12. See note 22.

13. The importance of these officers above warriors, chiefs, and so on, is suggested by the following passages (Kobayashi ed.), Vol. II:

". . . *capellan que han de tener cargo de regir la republica, o han de ser tlacatecatl, o tlacochcalcatl, dadles habilidad para que sean padres y madres de la gente de guerra que andan por las campos y por las montes, y sabran las vissas, y destruiran a los barranos, y en su tiempo ha de ser el principal a mostrar a los esforçados y animosos. . . .*" (p. 53).

". . . *los padres y madres del sol, que se llaman tlacatecatl (y) tlacochcalcatl, que tienen cargo de dar de beber y comer al sol y a la tierra, con la sangre y carne de sus enemigos: estos son los que tienen por officio la rodela y las armas, y allí mueren los aventa reios y los hazen reios, y las horias de la cabeça y las agujetas de las vestiduras. . . .*" (p. 103).

". . . *sobre los sobredichos y capitanes habia dos principales que los regian, el uno era tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; el uno de los dichos era jefe y el otro principal en las cosas de la guerra, y aunque parezcan un oficio con un calificado para cosas ofertas. También para capitanes generales de las cosas de la guerra parecian dos, uno noble, o gouernante y del palacio, y otro valeroso, y muy esperimentado en la guerra, el uno de estos se llamaba tlacatecatl y el otro tlacochcalcatl; estos conocellan las cosas de la guerra, y en ordenar todas las cosas que concernian a la milicia*" (p. 107).

X 796 And before she died, she danced. The old men beat the drums for her; the singers sang for her—they intoned her song. And when she danced, she
536 wept much, and she sighed; she felt anguish.[4] For
[781] time was but short; the span was but brief before she would suffer, when she would reach her end on earth.

X 796 And when the sun was past its zenith, they then took her up to the top of the temple. All the impersonators of the demons went, laying hold of and accompanying her, proceeding in rows. Yet another, the impersonator [of Ilama tecutli], went leading the people—one whom verily they thought a god[deu] on earth, who was only a man whom they [so] adorned.

And when they reached [the summit], they cut open her breast. And when she was slain, then they severed her head. And her head they gave to him who led. He took it in his right hand, going off with it, going dancing, marking the dance rhythm with the head. He went before them, leading all the likenesses and victims of the devils. They circled the temple; then they descended, in the same way [as they had come up], ranged in rows, and going in lines. And when they reached the ground, thereupon they dispersed and went to their houses, to their tribal temples, where [the gods' raiment] was guarded.

And the vicar, the likeness, of Ilama tecutli, he thus danced: he stepped back, kicking his heels up behind him. And then he went off supporting himself upon his staff, a cane.

[293] Its head, its upper end, was divided off into three [points], like a three-pronged harpoon. It was called his thorny staff. And when he thus danced, one said: "Ilama tecutli backeth away." And they put upon him a mask looking in two directions. It had huge lips and large eyes. And upon his head stood an array of little banners, arranged in rows. They seemed like a wreath of flowers upon his head.

● [47] And when this [took place], it was said: "His grain bin burneth." His granary was fashioned[5] of pine branches joined together, like a framework.[6] Then they wrapped paper about it; they caulked it with paper. They placed it upon the eagle vessel.

'Auh in nieuo mjqui mjtotiuia, quitlatzcuconjliuia in vevetque, in cuicanjme, quicujcatia, quevilia in jcuje. Auh in jquac mjtotiuia, vel mochoquiliuia, yoan ckicivia, mociappoa: iehica ca ça achitonca, ça inquich cavitl y, ça inquich cavitontli y, inic ontlacotia, in ie compolco tlalticpactli.

Auh in jquac ômocxcalo tonatiuh: njmã ie ic quitlecavia in tencalticpac, quiztitzquitivi, quitocativi in jnquichtin im jxipilacõ diablome cempantitivi, tejacãtiuh in oc ceppa ixiptla, in vel quimotrutia tlalticpac, çan tlacatl in quichichioua.

Auh in oconaxitiquc, njmã ic conelhequj: auh in ômomjquili, njmã ic quioalquechcotona: auh in jxontecõ, quioalmaca in teiacantiuh, itlan conana imaiauhcampa in quitzitzquitiuh, mjtotitiuh ic ontlaiiauhtiuh in tõtecomatl, imjxpan icatiuh, quiniacantiuh in jnquichtin imjxipilaoan, in impatillooan Diablome, quioaliacalca in teucalli, njman ic oalteuo, çã no ivi, motecpantivitze, cenpantitivitze: auh in otemoco tlalchi, njmã ie ic vivi, momoiaoa, vmpa vivi in inchachan, in incacalpulco, in vmpa pipielo.

auh in teixiptla, in jxipila Ilama tecutli: inic mjtotiuia tzitzintlaça, itzintlampa in conjaoa icxi: yoan ic motlatlaquechichiuh itopil, ẽtlatl:

in jlacac, in jquac, ezcan in maxaltic, itlhquin mjnacachalli: momcaiotia, yiotlavitztl, auh in juh mjtotiuia y, mjtoa, motzinoca in Ilama tecutli: yoã xaiacatl cõmaquja, occampa tlachia, texxaxacaltic, tenxaxacalpul, yoan ixtecolenpol, auh in jcpac pantotonti tecpantec, vipanuc: iuhquin icpacxochiuh mochioa:

yoan in jquac y, no motenoua icuencõ tlatla: in jocacoc quichichioaia ocoquavitl in quinenepanoaia, iuhquin coloali, ic quiztaliaia camaquimjlouia, camapepechoa, vncan quiquetza in quauhxicalco:

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grenade par couches, parque le parement, pare que no sea sino plumas). I impartian su sana primavera, y de ellas paraficaban, cerca plumas grandes de águila."

4. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 284) writes, however, that "*a esta Mujer le era permitido llorar, y celebrarse mucho (como arriba se dixo, que mucho, cierto, [fue]), y así se multiplicaba, suspirando, y llorando, con la memoria de la muerte, que le ymminia, y venia cercando.*"

5. Clavijero may be considered in two ways. We have here omitted lengths by the context.

6. In the next chapter (Seler) Sahagún notes that "*tenian la costumbre del dicho de Juego de arquitos, y pedia cañitas, unas con otras, que ellos llamaua cañaul, que quiere decir cañaueria o cañaueral.*"

7: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

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—After Pane y Troncoso

156, 157. Mexicans capture and sacrifice fifty-three Spaniards, three horses, and many allies (Chapter 39). 158. Spaniards enter the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 159. Spaniards fire the temple at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36). 160, 161. Battle in the market place at Tlatilulco (Chapter 36).

[p. 44(V)]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Then, but only then, ladders were constructed,[172] and with due precaution and under cover of various feints, the walls were scaled.[174] A regular siege was out of the question, the Mexicans not being provided for a protracted stay outside of their territory. They might lie in wait or hover around the enemy's defenses for a short time, bent upon attempting a surprise of some kind, but if the place could not be carried at a rush in some way the assailants finally had to abandon the attack and return home.[173]

We have heretofore presupposed that the tribe assailed by the Mexicans had been formally challenged, or at least notified of their coming. But this was not always the case. In many instances the Mexicans made their attack without previous warning, and a nocturnal surprise was attempted which was almost sure to succeed.

It is next to superfluous to venture a description of such a nightly onslaught. The scene, like that of the surprise of any settlement whatever by Indians during the hours of darkness, may be faintly imagined, but not adequately told. The main sallies and entries were occupied by the assailants,—creeping up stealthily,—the chief "teo-calli" surrounded, then the war-whoop was raised, and the miserable inhabitants of the pueblo realized at once that they were doomed. Few survivors only remained on such occasions, and even these, unless the tribe surrendered at the first on-

tulepec had been sacked, the Mexicans moved upon Quetzaltepec, which was well fortified, and whose people sallied forth to meet the Mexicans in the open field three days in succession, until the third day at last they were signally defeated, and the defenses scaled in a rush.

[172] Tezozomoc (Caps. XC and XCI). Durán (Cap. LVI, p. 448). The former describes these ladders ("escalas") minutely, giving their size and the number used.

[174] Tezozomoc speaks of archers posted outside, protecting by a shower of missiles the ascent of the scaling party or parties, while other bodies were burrowing through the wall. Durán gives a more plausible statement (p. 448): "Otro dia salió al campo la "gente tepaneca con toda su provincia, que era gran numero de gente, la qual se avo "tan valerosamente, que no los pudiendo resistir las de la ciudad, se empeçaron a' re- "traer hacia el muro. Montezuma, viendo que los tepanecas peleaban tan valerosamente "y que hacian retirar al enemigo, mandó tocar al arma, y en un punto salió el Mexicano "al campo y por otra parte el tezcucano, y arremetiendo todos de trapel, apellidando "los unos Mexico, Mexico, los otros Tezcuco, Tezcuco, acudieron cada uno por su "parte rompiendo por el exercito de los enemigos; y aunque de las murallas recibias "gran daño de las piedras grandes y trocos de palos que arrojaban, llegaron a' ella y "arrimando escalas, y otros, como gatos, subieron por ella, y otros cabando por el "cimiento ganaron la primera cerca." This shows that indeed it was carried at a rush.

[173] For this reason the wars with the neighboring tribes of Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholullan, took the shape of regular fights at stated times. A long campaign was out of all question. We may, in the course of this essay, investigate shortly the question of the wars between Mexico and Tlaxcallan, although it is not properly pertaining to the object of the present discussion.